An Hiſtorical

ESSAY,

WHEREIN

The EXAMPLE, INFLUENCE and AUTHORITY of

LONDONERS

IN

PUBLICK AFFAIRS,

The Remonſtrance of 1641; The PLACE-BILL, or Self-denying Ordinance of 164⅘; The Parties, Politicks, *Petitions* and *Inſtructions* of thoſe Former and theſe Latter Times, are occaſionally conſider'd and compar'd.

To which is added,

The humble Confeſſion of an experienc'd *Engliſh* Republican.

Non civium ardor prava jubentium. HOR.

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Hiſtorical Eſſay, &c.

IN many of our late political Pieces, ſuch as, *Exhortations*, and *Addreſſes*, to *Electors*; *The Livery-Man's plain Thoughts*, &c. we have been referred to the Citizens of *London* for a compleat Pattern of Patriotiſm and Policy; and one *, though indeed a moſt profligate Writer, has gone ſo far as to ſay, "*They have always been* "*in the Right, and have always prevail-*"*ed.*"

* The Champion.

Though *great Examples* will attract Notice, not without ſome Degree of Influence, *good ones* only can authorize our Imitation of them. Since then, among the ſeveral Artifices made uſe of to heighten the Oppoſition, by alienating the Minds of the People from the preſent Government and Adminiſtration, Inferences drawn from *certain Appearances* in the *City of London* are none of the leaſt; we ſhall do well to conſider *thoſe Appearances* narrowly, and ſee if fairly and judiciouſly examined, they will be found to prove what they are brought to affirm, *viz.*

1. *This is the Senſe of the* Londoners *on publick Affairs.*

2. *They have always approved themſelves the beſt Judges in Caſes of this Nature.*

3. Therefore, *It is our Duty to conform ourſelves to their Sentiments and Meaſures.*

And indeed, granting the two former Poſitions, the latter is ſomething of a Conſequence. But, if either of them fails in

in Point of Truth, the whole Argument falls to the Ground. And is not this, what Mr. *Locke* calls an Argument *ad Verecundiam*; of all others, the fartheſt from being concluſive? Is not the Queſtion here doubly begged, and *two Things* taken for granted, *both which* want to be proved?

Firſt, *Humour*, the Effect of Envy, Avarice, Ambition, Diſappointment, a Deſire of Revenge, *&c.* is ſo often ſubſtituted as a governing Principle, in the Place of *Opinion*, that Perſons are not unapt to impoſe upon themſelves by it; no wonder, therefore, if others ſhould miſtake their *Paſſions* for their *Senſe of Things*.

Farther, If by the Senſe of *the Londoners*, we are to underſtand (what ſhould be underſtood by it, before it can be urged as an Authority) the united Opinion of all, or a competent Majority of the moſt conſiderable, that is, the wealthieſt and wiſeſt, and beſt principled, (by which I mean) *beſt affected* to the Perſon and Government of his *preſent Majeſty*, and to the *Conſtitution*, it may well be aſked in this divided Age, In what Inſtances hath this Union, or this Majority, ſo clearly appeared? A little Conſideration, with

with ſome Knowledge of that great and opulent City, will convince us, that when People talk of the Senſe of *the Londoners*, Nothing can poſſibly be underſtood by it, more than the *Appearances* of *a Party* in *the City*. I ſhall therefore, accordingly ſo conſider it. And uſing the Term, *Londoners*, *Citizens*, &c. indiſcriminately, not for the *Whole*, but a *Part*, and conſiderable Number of them, I ſhall go near to prove them ſo far from having been *always* in the Right, as to ſhew, (altho' they did prevail) *when they* were *very often*, and *very materially* in the Wrong. If then, in the Courſe of this Conſideration, it ſhould appear that *the Party*, which ſeems, at preſent, predominant; which, certainly, makes the greateſt Noiſe in *the City of London*, pretending to Patriotiſm, has copied pretty much after *thoſe* their Predeceſſors, in many Inſtances, wherein *they* were judged moſt blameable, politically ſpeaking; the Preſumption is, that SOME of *this* PARTY do not mean *the true Intereſt of their Country*; that NONE of them are promoting it; altho' the Credit and Character of moſt of them may be very paſſable in all other Reſpects. Nor can this be thought ſo much a Paradox, when it is conſidered, that the Magick of Party has, for many Ages, been ſuch (eſpecially

ſince

ſince the *Revolution*, and the Caſe of a *Pretender* to the CROWN) that very few Points, of a publick Nature, have been ſo ſufficiently clear and evident, but reputedly *wiſe* and even *good Men* have given their *Opinions*, their *Votes*, upon Occaſion, contrary Ways. And, therefore, a Writer, taking the preſent unpopular Side in the *City of London*, may ſafely ſay, after a truly great Perſon,* in like Circumſtances: *If he has the Misfortune to differ in Opinion* from many worthy Citizens, that yet he has the Satisfaction of, at leaſt, as many of the *wealthieſt*, *wiſeſt* and *worthieſt* of the ſame Opinion with himſelf.

'Tis a happy Circumſtance, when publick Meaſures fall in with the general private Inclinations of the People.—— But, beſides other Reaſons, the Means of Support and Safety being to the Body Politick, (like Phyſick to the natural Body) often attended with Regimen and Reſtraints, certainly with ſome Expence; that ſeldom happens; eſpecially when particular Perſons, as *Heads of Parties*,

* Sir *R——t W——le* as C——r of the *E——r*, when deciding a Cauſe there, in which the B——ns had been equally divided in their Opinions.

hope to find their Account in raiſing and cheriſhing a Spirit of Murmuring and Diſcontent. Thus I remember, a moſt wiſe and neceſſary Precaution, in the Legiſlature, of the utmoſt Importance to the whole Kingdom, and to the *City of London* particularly (the Peſt Act) treated by *Citizens* (in the Language of the preſent Oppoſition) as an *execrable Scheme*, a vile Plot againſt the Liberties of the People, more terrible, in its Conſequences, than the Plague itſelf. What could be the Meaning of this; when the Citizens moſt certainly were not without a Senſe of Danger from the Contagion, nor yet averſe, we may be ſure, to their own Preſervation; when the Act was juſtly timed, and gave no more Power to the Government than was judged abſolutely neceſſary for that End? *Some*, who were not ignorant of all this, had *other Ends* in making wrong Repreſentations of the Matter, which, *in the Spirit of Party*, were too readily ſwallowed down.

As then it is ſo difficult, it can't ſurely be thought neceſſary for the People always to be governed, exactly, according to their own Will or Senſe of Things: Becauſe, through their frequent Controverſies, Miſtakes, Prejudices and Perverſeneſs, Government

between the Government in its natural, and in an unnatural State: That, only in the latter Caſe, Recourſe lies to the *City of London*, as neareſt at Hand, moſt largely intereſted in, and beſt able to ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom; that, at all other Times, they are in the common Caſe of Subjects; without a Negative upon, or any Juriſdiction over, the *Legiſlative* or the *Executive* Power. But this Diſtinction we have ſeen overlooked by our Pamphleteers, *&c.* of late; and almoſt an unlimited Power aſſigned to the *Londoners*, of directing and controuling *whom*, and *as* they pleaſe; under a Pretence, forſooth, of their ſuperior Knowledge, and certain, immemorial, unbiaſſed Integrity. As the Faith of Hiſtory is the beſt Teſtimony we can refer to in this Caſe; as the preſent * Advocates for theſe Notions have attempted to ſupport themſelves from thence: As the unhappy Reign of *Charles* the Iſt, is a Period of Time, from which a preſent PARTY of LONDONERS ſeem to have tranſcribed, not a little, and in which their Defenders, I might have ſaid, Prompters alſo, have appeared willing to join Iſſue—— Be the Hiſtory

* Liveryman, *&c.*

Hiſtory of thoſe Times the Teſt of the preſent as well as former Rectitude of their Conceptions and Conduct.

The Miſgovernment of the firſt Fifteen Years of that Reign was ſuch, that a Perſon who is *really* moved with the preſent Cry about Liberty, need but compare the Hiſtory, or a Catalogue of the Grievances *then* complained of, with what he knows and obſerves now, to be fully convinced that the Clamour is wholly groundleſs. Weak Perſons may perhaps miſtake the Licenſe and Impunity of antiminiſterial and anticonſtitutional Writers, for real Faults in the preſent Form, and the Adminiſtration of our Government; when the Truth is, that the *one* is only ſtrictly, *i. e. ſcrupulouſly legal*; the other, (as all Hiſtory will atteſt) beyond Example, *mild*.—— But if all Perſons can't conſider this, nor reflect, that *Country-Party*, and *Country-Intereſt* are mere *cant Terms* and *Names*, which the Chiefs of any Faction may aſſume at Pleaſure; tho' they can with *no Propriety* be given to them; it is leſs Matter of Wonder, if ſome ſhould be ready to be carried away with Arguments urged from *certain Examples* in the *City of London*. This therefore,

fore, is a Caſe that deſerves ſomewhat a more particular Conſideration.

If the Beginning of the *civil War*, or *grand Rebellion* (which coſt near 100 Millions of Money, beſides the infinite Spoil and Havock of *Plunder* and *free Quarter*, and, in which *(horrible Remembrance)* an Ocean of *Engliſh* Blood was ſpilt) may be dated from the paſſing the Remonſtrance in 1641: And if that diſmal Cataſtrophe, in the Concluſion of it, *(for which, as a Nation, we juſtly take Shame to ourſelves, once a Year*)* the Murther of the King and our whole Conſtitution, may be derived from another and the next great Criſis, which was the new modelling the Parliament Army by Means of the ſelf-denying Ordinance in 164½; and, if in each of theſe particularly, as well as almoſt all along, we find a *Party* of *Londoners* to have been very deeply engaged in *Meaſures*, and ſo have conducted themſelves in a *Manner*, which unprejudiced Poſterity can now clearly perceive, as well from the Nature of Things, as from the Event, to have been erroneous at leaſt; then may it be thought with me, that the *City*

* Jan. 30.

City of London, like any other Part of the Kingdom, is ſubject to *Faction* and *Frailty*; that its Number of wiſe and worthy Members, tho' at all Times conſiderable, has not always been able to ſtop the Eddy of an overflowing popular Fury, raiſed by the Breath of ill-deſigning artful Clamour.

One of the great Failures in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the Iſt, and the Mother of all the Grievances thereof, was a *Diſagreement* with, and *Diſuſe* of Parliaments. Indeed the King had, by thoſe Means, brought himſelf into great Difficulties, as well as his People under many real Hardſhips. To cure all which, and prevent the like for the future, upon a Change of his Councils, and ſeemingly of his own Sentiments too, a Parliament was ſummoned to meet *November* the 3d, 1640. This every one pretended the People expected; and he, for his Part, promiſed *it ſhould not be his Fault, if Things had not a good and a happy Iſſue.*

At their firſt ſitting down to Buſineſs, proper Committees were appointed for all Things; and a ſelect one, for making and preparing a Remonſtrance of all the

ſeveral

ſeveral Grievances of the Nation, ariſing from the paſt Miſgovernment, and wrong Policies of that and the foregoing Reign. But upon the King's ſhewing a ſufficient Condeſcenſion, even more than was expected, it was judged proper to be laid aſide. However, upon the Turn of the Tables; as Extremes are generally repaid *in Kind*; ſo the *Puritans* having been oppreſſed by the *Epiſcopal Party*, and the juſt Temper of Toleration not yet entertained by *any*, nothing leſs could content the *former* than the total Extirpation of *Epiſcopacy*; when, among others, *the City of London*, (by which we are to underſtand a *Party from the City*) gave into the *Parliament* a Petition againſt *Biſhops*, containing, according to the Faſhion of thoſe Times, twenty-eight Grievances from that *Apoſtolical Order* in the Church, of which the twelfth, and not the leaſt pertinent, was *the Multitude of Monopolies, and Impoſitions upon all Kind of Commodities.*

The Impeachment of the *Lord Strafford* being turned into a Bill of Attainder, and not paſſing readily the Houſe of Lords; a great Number of *Londoners* petitioned both Houſes againſt him; and * as a bet-

* Clarendon.

ter Argument to the Lords ſpeedily to paſs the Bill, the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had diſſented to that Act, had their Names written in Pieces of Parchment or Paper, under this Superſcription STRAFFORDIANS, or *Enemies to their Country*, and thoſe Papers fixed upon Poſts, and other the moſt viſible Places about the City. Thus thoſe *Champions* for *Liberty* were guilty, my *Lord Clarendon* obſerves, "of as great and de-"ſtructive a Violation of the *Privileges* "and *Freedom* of Parliament, as can be "imagined." If modern Faction has not run the ſame Courſe exactly, we have ſeen very near Approaches to it, in many Inſtances; that of ſtigmatizing a Fellow-Citizen* for a *Vote* in *Parliament*, muſt be thought an extraordinary Procedure, which unprejudiced and undeceived Poſterity, I am inclined to think, will as generally condemn, as they now do, the former Behaviour of *ſome factious Citizens*, in the Affair of my *Lord Strafford*, and whoſe Irregularity in that Caſe, had no Bounds.

For, the King having ſignified to both Houſes, that he could not in Conſcience, con-

* Sir G——e Ch——on.

condemn the *Lord Strafford* of *Treaſon*, though he thought him guilty of Miſdemeanours, a Multitude of *Londoners* undertook to force the Lords to what *they* called *Juſtice*. "Theſe unheard-of Acts "of Inſolence and Sedition continued "many Days," till about half the Lords, who were preſent at his Trial, being terrified out of their Attendance, the Bill paſſed. In the ſame manner did they afterwards treat the King at *Whitehall* to induce his Compliance. He was inclined to oblige, and had gratified the angry Patriots in almoſt every other thing; and, in hopes, I ſuppoſe, to appeaſe them fully, was ill adviſed to conſent to this alſo: But the Sequel will tell us, that Condeſcenſions to Demands quite unreaſonable, is not ſatisfying and quelling, but inviting and provoking a Spirit of Incroachment and Innovation.

Within the firſt nine Months of this Seſſion, every Grievance, publick and private, being redreſs'd, the *Parliament* had ſeemingly nothing to detain them from returning into their reſpective Countries, to have reaped the Fruits of their Labours, thus far right and honeſt, for the moſt Part, and to have received the Compliments of their Neighbours and Coun-

trymen accordingly. —— But that ſuited not the Deſigns of *them all.* Some were timorous about the Article of Liberty; *others* big with the Thoughts of Reformation, as they called it, in the Church; and a concealed Party, under *their Wing*, wiſhed an entire Subverſion of every Thing *civil* and *ſacred*; for the *two latter*, Matters were to be prepared by Degrees; and the *former* were to be made uſeful to *them*, by cheriſhing their Suſpicions and Fears, and thence engaging *the Houſe* to take proper Steps to lead them to *their End*; which was yet a Secret to many of the Members.

Through another unhappy Conceſſion of the King's, the Parliament could not be diſſolved or prorogued, without a Vote of both Houſes; ſo that was to be prevented at any rate: And having little or no Work left upon their Hands, *ſome* was to be cut out that ſhould be *ſuitable to their Deſigns.* What then did theſe Gentlemen betake themſelves to, but to draw up a Remonſtrance of the former Grievances of the Nation, very particularly enumerated, and greatly exaggerated: Not addreſs'd to the King, but to the People; yet to be preſented to his Majeſty along with a Petition; and (that no Circumſtance

ſtance of Incivility might be wanting) ordered to be printed and actually publiſhed, contrary to the King's expreſs Deſire, before they could receive his Anſwer either to the *Petition*, or to the *Remonſtrance*; of which latter Mr. *Whitelock* ſays, " That " it was roughly formed, both for the " Matter and Expreſſions in it, and met " with great Oppoſition in the Houſe; " inſomuch as the Debate of it held from " Three a Clock in the Afternoon, till " Ten a Clock next Morning; and the " ſitting up all Night cauſed many, " through Weakneſs and Wearineſs, to " leave the Houſe; and Sir *B. R.* to com- " pare it to the Verdict of a ſtarved Jury." It was not carried by many; and ſome, tho' that was judged unparliamentary, proteſted againſt it. Thus it was plainly the Effort of a Cabal, or particular Faction, which never promiſes good to a Nation. That it was of a deſperate Nature, *Cromwel*'s Declaration ſhews, (who, tho' not much taken notice of as yet, appears to have been very deep in this Affair) ſaying, as ſoon as it was over, *that if it had miſcarried, he would have ſold his Eſtate immediately and left the Kingdom.**

That

* Clarendon, Rapin.

That a *Party* of *Londoners*, again, had no ſmall Hand in promoting this *Remonſtrance*, which, when preſented to the King, was to be accompanied with a Petition *(they vaſtly favoured)* againſt *Prelacy*, Mr. *Whitlock* will inform us, who ſays, "that during this Time, divers of "the City came in great Numbers and "Tumults to *Whitehall*; where, with "very unſeemly and inſolent Words and "Actions, they incenſed the King, and "went from thence in like Poſture to "*Weſtminſter*; behaving themſelves, with "extreme Rudeneſs, towards ſome of "the Members of both Houſes" (*thoſe who had been againſt the Remonſtrance, and were for Epiſcopal Church Government*) one of their principal Cries being, *no Biſhops*!

The *Lords* having tried in vain to appeaſe theſe Tumults, deſired the *Commons* to join with them, in publiſhing a Declaration againſt them; which was but aſſerting the Dignity, the Privilege and Freedom of Parliaments. But the *Commons* (which explains the whole Affair) denied their Concurrence. In ſhort,* "it was

* Rapin.

" was evident that ſome leading Mem-
" bers did not deſire theſe Tumults
" ſhould be ſo ſoon ended." Mr *Pym*, one of them, was affirmed to have anſwered to one perſuading him to endeavour to prevent them,† " *God forbid the People* " *ſhould be hindered from obtaining their* " *juſt Deſires.*"

Rapin ſays, indeed, the Houſe in general, could not be accuſed of taking any Reſolution to encourage theſe Tumults. But my Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that ſeveral Speeches were made in Juſtification and Commendation of them; which puts beyond Diſpute, *Rapin*'s Account, *viz.* " that they were cauſed by the Intrigues " and Directions of *ſome* of the leading " Members of the *oppoſite Party to the* " *King.*" And it was theſe Tumults, in the End, which produced a Step on the King's Part, through ill Advice, the moſt unpolitick, and fatal to his Affairs that could be; and, in its Conſequences, fatal to the whole Kingdom too; namely, that of accuſing a Lord and five Commoners of *High-Treaſon*; which, with ſome ſubſequent Proceedings in that Affair, equally violent and irregular, was (ſays *Whitlock*) the

† Clarendon, Rapin.

the *firſt viſible and apparent Ground of the enſuing Troubles.* "The King (he ſays) "did it upon Information, that ſome "Members had countenanced the Tu-"mults from the City, which *were ſuch,* "*that it was a diſmal thing to ſee and hear* "*them.*"

Tho' this then might be the firſt *viſible* and *apparent* Ground of the following Troubles; for the *real original* Ground we muſt look back to the Affair of the *Remonſtrance*; "It was not very ſtrange, "that the King ſhould be highly diſplea-"ſed with what was properly but a Series "of Reproaches for his paſt Conduct, "and againſt his Government; not direct-"ed to himſelf, but to the Publick; the "Authors whereof only meant to incenſe "the People againſt him, and which was "made at a Time, when it ſeemed to be "moſt neceſſary; accordingly the Begin-"ning of the Breach between the King "and the Parliament is properly to be da-"ted from this Time, though, on both "Sides, ſome Meaſures were yet kept."†

"Many thought it needleſs to reproach "the King with Grievances, to the Re-"dreſs whereof he had, without Sollici-"tation,

† Rapin.

"tation, given a full Conſent; and that, "beſides the Uſeleſneſs of the Remon-"ſtrance, it would ſerve only to open old "Wounds, to which a Cure had been "applied, and infallibly make the Breach "wider between the King and Parliament. "But this very Reaſon was preciſely that "which excited the others to cauſe the Re-"monſtrance to be approved; they want-"ed a Diſſention with the King, in order "to obtain a *Diminution of the Regal "Power.*" *

The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "Such and "ſo many Acts had been paſſed in this "Parliament for the Benefit of the Sub-"ject, as will be acknowledged, by an "incorrupted Poſterity, to be everlaſting "Monuments of the King's fatherly Af-"fection to his People; and ſuch an Ob-"ligation of Repoſe and Truſt from his "Majeſty in the Hearts of his Subjects, "that no Expreſſions of Duty and Confi-"dence from them could have been "more than a ſufficient Return on their "Parts."

We have ſeen what the firſt Return was; than which nothing could have been more ungenerous and uncivil, even

* Rapin.

among Equals; much leſs was it to be juſtified from Subjects to their Sovereign. This Proceeding is ſuch a Blemiſh upon our Anceſtors as cannot be wholly excuſed, whatever may be ſaid to extenuate it. If the King's Condeſcenſion, at the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, was Inducement ſufficient for waving the Remonſtrance at that Time; nothing could be more needleſs, after the Grievances were redreſs'd, had it not been intended on purpoſe to quarrel with him. This appears ſtill farther in the Affair of the five Members, in which he ſoon became ſenſible of his Miſtake, and ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes (plainly ſhewing he repented of what was done, and in ſome meaſure confeſſing his Fault) * *capable of pacifying all, had there not been a ſettled Deſign againſt him.*

The King, it's true, through a Neglect of *Parliaments*, had given great Occaſion of Complaints to his Subjects, during the firſt fifteen Years of his Reign; ſo that there were very few Members in *this*, who were not diſpos'd to redreſs paſt Grievances, and prevent the like for the future: So far *all*, in a manner, were agreed. *Some* were for ſtopping there; *Others* (as there

* Rapin.

there will be in all Parliaments, who are for making things better than well) were for proceeding farther: Of theſe, ſome, through Exceſs of Caution only, not out of any Malignity to the *King*, or to the *Conſtitution*, in the main, but under a Notion of the greater Security (who of theſe were the *wiſeſt* and the *trueſt Patriots*, let known Proverbs, as well as the Event, ſay.) But there were alſo *others*, who had yet more extenſive Views, the total Change of Church-Government in particular. To accompliſh which, they well knew it was neceſſary to deprive the King of a Power, which they ſaw he would not fail to exert (agreeable to his *Principles*, as well as *Coronation Oath)* in Oppoſition to their Deſign: And they had no better Way, than by cheriſhing a general Diſtruſt in the Members; or rather, to gain a ſufficient Number of theſe who were well affected and moſt moderate, but timorous and ſuſpicious in the Article of Liberty. "This was the Reaſon that "ſuch Care was taken to aggravate every "Incident. This was the Cauſe of ſo "many Efforts to exclude the Biſhops, "and that ſo many Mortifications were "given to the King, to induce him to "take ſome Step which ſhould give an "Advantage againſt him." †

† Rapin.

His Majeſty fell into the Snare; and every Scheme againſt him and the Conſtitution, had, in its Turn, a Proſpect of ſucceeding; till, at laſt, *Lord Clarendon* obſerves, " a handful of Men, much in-" ferior in the Beginning, in Number and " Intereſt, came to give Laws to the ma-" jor Part, and by a Plurality of Voices, " in the End, *converted* or *reduced* the " whole Body to their Opinions." It is true (he ſays) " they had ſome Advanta-" ges that gallant Men cannot give " themſelves leave to entertain, even for " the Prevention of that Miſchief, which " others intend." Theſe Advantages, which were uniformly purſued from the Beginning to the End of thoſe diſtracted Times, were (*and I wiſh I could ſay they are not, at this Time, too much in Uſe*) a " Habit of Ill-Nature and Diſingenuity; " abſurd *ridiculous Lying*, to win the " Affections, and corrupt the Underſtand-" ings of the weak; *bold Scandals* to the " wilful;—— groſs *abject Flatteries* and " Applications to the Vulgar." Hence Libels and (the Conſequences of them and other Intrigues) Mobs, at the Heels of Petitions, which, (like our Modern *Inſtructions*) were a mere Farce, firſt dictated by Members, and then received into Par-

Parliament, as if they had come naturally from the People; and not unlike them in the much Diſingenuity practiſed, in Order to gain Hands.

Beſides the Methods already obſerved of converting Members by Mobs and Libels; by which ſome were intimidated out of their Attendance, as in my *Lord Strafford*'s Caſe; others, through a falſe Shame or want of Courage to be unpopular, either complied with the Violence of the Times, or became indolent and unconcerned; for which *Lord Clarendon* greatly blames them; I ſay, beſides theſe, the prevailing Party had another Method of *reducing* both Houſes, ſo long as both ſubſiſted, to their Opinion; which was, from time to time, either by ſome *Vote* or *Ordinance*, or elſe by mere *military Force*, excluding ſuch as were not for their Purpoſe. And thus, the Parliament, which, from the firſt breaking out of the War, could not be conſidered as an entire Parliament, (many of both Houſes having left them for the King's Service) was ſo continually waſting, that they were, at laſt in Deriſion, called the *Rump*; alluding to a Fowl conſumed all to that Part. And indeed, conſidering their Tranſactions, it is for the Credit of the Nation, that they were

were not a fuller Repreſentative of it. To return.

Nothing is more plain, than that thoſe Mobs and Tumults, with Petitions, from the Firſt Beginning, were ſo far from being caſual and natural, that they appear to have been raiſed by *Art*, and conducted with ſome Sort of Regularity. One *Cornelius Burgeſs* was at the Head of them; "*he called them his Bandogs; ſaid he could* "*ſet them on and take them off*;*" and ſo he did.—— But that was juſt as he had the Word from Mr. *Pym*, and ſome other eminent Men in the *Houſe of Commons* at that Time; *Gentlemen*, who, at firſt, did not mean to involve their Country in Blood and Ruin, had not taken ſo furious an Antipathy to the *Church* and CROWN, but they would have been willing to have continued in the *one*, and to have ſerved the *other* in *Poſts* and *Places*; which alſo the *King* had not yet reſolved againſt; the only Difference between them, was about *Terms* of *Recommendation*. The King expected ſome Sort of Complaiſance, common Civility at leaſt.—— But they choſe (what is now called a vigorous Oppoſition)

* Clarendon, Rapin.

tion) "*and endeavoured** *by doing all the* "*Hurt they could, to make evident the* "*Power they had to do him conſiderable Ser-* "*vice.*"

If any ſhall take upon them to ſay, that thoſe artful Members were more blameable than the unmeaning or undiſtinguiſhing Crowd of *Londoners*; I can agree with them; that ſome intriguing, enterprizing Members, underhand, and by the Aſſiſtance of ſome *bold factious Citizens*, did produce thoſe Appearances, which had ſuch diſmal Effects in the Concluſion.—— But then, at the ſame Time that we acquit the Bulk of *thoſe Londoners* of any malevolent Intention, we muſt alſo acquit them of any profound Skill or ſuperior Judgment, conſequently of a Right to interpoſe (as they did) in *State Affairs.*

If it is ſaid, that theſe were but common Mobs, made up of Perſons inconſiderable; that therefore the City, or *any Party* in it, in Point of *Judgment* and *Loyalty*, is not to be arraigned for any thing that then paſſed out of their *Courts* and

* Clarendon.

and *Councils*: They were, it's true, ſaid to be chiefly Apprentices, and young Perſons, who, having ſerved their Apprenticeſhip, were about to enter into Trade. ——But this was partly Diſguiſe and Artifice, and partly owing to the particular Loyalty of the *chief Magiſtrate* * at that Time. We ſhall ſee afterwards, Things as little capable of Defence, to have had the Sanction of a *Lord-Mayor* and *Common-Council*. So that if the Citizens of *London* were not the greateſt Sufferers in what followed; if they had the Happineſs to be of that Conſequence to be courted by all Parties, as they happen'd to prevail, and were made tolerable Amends for ſome preſent Inconveniences, by *good Intereſt* for the Money they furniſh'd towards maintaining a War in the *Bowels of their Country*: If the *Nobility*, the *ancient Gentry*, eſtabliſhed *Clergy*, and the *whole Commonalty*, in all other Parts of the Kingdom, were the Perſons chiefly *degraded, depoſed, ſuſpended, plundered, quartered upon, ſequeſter'd, decimated, impriſoned, beggared, ſold for Slaves*, or *murthered*; and the Citizens happily not only eſcaped that general Calamity better than moſt others, but

* *Sir* Richard Gurney.

but many of them, and thoſe not the moſt deſerving, were actually enriched by it; it can't be ſaid, that *a Party* of them (which were not a little numerous by having gained the Populace, and who therefore delighted often to aſſume the Name of the Whole) were the People leaſt acceſſory thereto. I don't mention theſe things out of any the leaſt Diſreſpect to our *great Metropolis*, which, even at that Time, contained a vaſt Number of *loyal Subjects* and *good Chriſtians*; I don't impute the Conſequences mention'd, to the Intentions of *all thoſe* (far from it) who diſtinguiſhed themſelves then, in the unhappy Manner I have been ſpeaking of. ——But I think it a good *Memento*, a proper Leſſon of *Modeſty* to *ſome*, of *Caution* to *others*, how they too implicitly follow ſuch as poſſibly may be no better than blind, or, which is worſe, deceitful Guides.

Though, in regard even to the Beginning of the *civil War*, at this Diſtance of Time, and eſpecially as the Event was, there is no Difficulty in judging, that the Parliament had acted much more wiſely, in ſacrificing their *Fears* and *Scruples*, as well as *Fancies* and *Humours*, to the *Eaſe*

and *Peace* of the Kingdom; yet a Spirit of Reſentment, with a Cloud of Prejudices and Paſſions, made it not ſo clear a Point then, but that *ſome noble* and *worthy* Patriots, partly from their own Principles and Perſuaſions, chiefly from too great a Condeſcenſion for certain artful and deſigning Perſons, whoſe *real Deſigns* and *Pretenſions* were vaſtly different, engaging in the Quarrel on the Parliament Side, and embarking in the War; in virtue of their ſuperior Quality, Credit and Character, the chief Command, in courſe, devolved upon them.

But the more honeſt Views of theſe Lords and Gentlemen not anſwering thoſe of others, originally the feweſt and meaneſt among them, a peculiar Scheme was projected for raiſing the latter upon the Ruins of the former, which was that fatal Original, *A Place-Bill.* Upon a Motion it was voted, "*That no Member of* "*either Houſe of Parliament ſhould, du-*"*ring the War, enjoy or execute any Office,* "*military or civil, and that an Ordinance* "*be brought in accordingly.*" Of which Mr. *Whitlock* gives this Account: "That "it was ſet on by *that Party*, who con-"trived the *outing* of the Lord General, "and to bring on *their own Deſigns*; and "they

" they could find no other Way, than by " paſſing a ſelf-denying Ordinance, as " they called it; which would ſerve their " Turn, as a ſpecious Pretence of their " own Integrity, and waving all *Self-ends*, " and ſo plauſible to the People, and " would alſo comprehend the Lord Ge- " neral with the reſt, and without naming " of him; which, for Shame and Ingra- " titude, they could not think fit to be " done."

" Some of them confeſſed, that this " was their Deſign; and it was apparent " in itſelf; and the Reaſon of their doing " this was, *to make way for others*; and " becauſe they were jealous, that the Lord " General was too much a Favourer of " Peace (a good Fault in a General of an " Army) and that he would be too ſtrong " a Supporter of *Monarchy* and *Nobility*, " and *other old Conſtitutions*, which they " had a mind to alter. Such is the Ingra- " titude of People, and the Uncertainty " of their Favour, no Confidence can be " placed therein, for this gallant Man's " ſake, who was a moſt faithful Servant " to the Publick, and performed ſo many " brave Services for them."

It is a natural Reflection here, to think how Mr. *Whitlock*, who writes ſo honeſtly and well on this Occaſion, would have reſented that ſo much more unhandſome and ungenerous Uſage of the *late glorious* JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH.—— But what would have been his Aſtoniſhment, to have ſeen the *ſame Party* that was capable of that, within the Memory of Man, ſetting up for PATRIOTS, pretending a Dread of *French Councils*; and above all, of being jealous for the *Trade* and *Honour* of their Country? As if no Man alive could tell of *their Treaty of Commerce with France*; as if Words and Wind was ſufficient to wipe off the Diſhonour of foul Deeds, and to atone for the laſting Diſadvantages of the *Peace of Utrecht*.

But I return to the ſelf-denying Ordinance, which *(obſerve the Management)* had no ſooner been voted, but † "the "Petition of *divers Londoners* was read, "commending the Vote; and they again "had the Thanks of the Houſe." As that Event, which cauſed ſo great and fatal a Revolution in the State of *England*, as well as the Means which ſo much contributed

† Whitlock.

buted to it, *viz.* the *Interpoſition of Londoners*, correſpond ſo nearly with a late, if not a preſent favourite Scheme (*a Place-Bill*) and the extraordinary Zeal expreſſed for it by a *Party* of the Citizens of *London* alſo: I ſhall here give Part of the great and judicious Mr. *Whitlock*'s Speech upon the Debate which was about it.

" I ſhall conclude with the Examples " of the *Grecians* and *Romans*, among " whom, Sir, you know that the great- " eſt Offices both of War and Peace were " conferred upon their Senators; and " their Reaſons were, becauſe, they ha- " ving greater Intereſts than others were " more capable to do them the greateſt Ser- " vice. And having the ſame Intereſt with " the Senate, and being preſent at their " Debates, they underſtood their Buſineſs " the better, and were leſs apt to break " that Truſt which ſo nearly concerned " their private Intereſts, which was in- " volved with the Publick; and the bet- " ter they underſtood their Buſineſs, the " better Service might be expected from " them."

" Sir, I humbly ſubmit the Applicati- " tion to your Judgment; your Ance- " ſtors did the ſame; they thought the Members

" Members of Parliament fitteſt to be em-
" ployed in the greateſt Offices. I hope
" you will be of the ſame Judgment, and
" not, at this Time, to paſs this Ordi-
" nance, and thereby to diſcourage your
" faithful Servants."

It is to be noted, that Mr. *Whitlock* was not only one of the greateſt Men of thoſe Times; but, that he had in the Beginning of his Speech obſerved, that he himſelf was quite a diſintereſted Perſon, not *a Place-Man*; nor ambitious of being one in the Senſe of that intended Ordinance. The Debate (he tells you) " held till late
" at Night; and then, upon the Queſti-
" on, as ſome called it, *Envy* and *Self-*
" *Ends* prevailing, the Ordinance paſſed
" the *Houſe of Commons*; and was voted
" to be ſent up to the *Lords* for their Con-
" currence, which it did not obtain till
" after four Months, and then with much
" Difficulty:" Nor was this an inconſiderable Miſchief ariſing from the ſelf-denying Ordinance, that here firſt began to increaſe that Difference between the two Houſes, which ſwelled afterwards to ſo fatal a Height. And here ended (ſays *Whitlock*) " the firſt Scene of our tragick
" Civil War in the Exit of that brave
" Perſon *Eſſex*;" it may be added,

and

and of ſome other *noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen of Diſtinction.*

If the firſt Scene was tragical; the ſecond was, beyond all Example, much more ſo; and the Actors in it ſo far from being thought capable of the leaſt Defence, that no Party ſince has thought fit to own them. I would not accuſe *all thoſe* of the *Londoners*, who forwarded the *Place-Bill* or ſelf-denying Ordinance, of intending what followed, tho' it was a Conſequence of that Ordinance which a *Party* of the City might very well be ſaid to procure; as it was backed with a Petition from them, which, no Doubt, by too many who piqued themſelves unluckily upon their Popularity, at that Time, was received as an INSTRUCTION from which they might not venture to deviate.

But it is really ſtrange, that a ſecond Attempt of the ſame kind ſhould, by any Perſons, have been judged prudent, or that it ſhould be attended with the leaſt Degree of Popularity; when the Experiment had been once before, and but once made, in the Space of near 700 Years, *viz. from the Conqueſt*; and then, tho' it was an Age of able Men, as any their Succeſſors

ceſſors can boaſt of, cloſely followed by a total Overthrow of the Conſtitution, and that ſucceeded by an abſolute Tyranny. With what Views, and upon what Motives SOME have acted in this Affair lately, I won't pretend to ſay, hope future Hiſtory will never have Occaſion to record them. But in 1644, beſides what Mr. *Whitlock* has told us of it, this was briefly the Ground of that Project. There was, as has been obſerved, among the Parliamentarians, a concealed Party of Independents and Republican Deiſts, whoſe Principles were proper to put the Kingdom into a Flame (as they did effectually) with regard to the State, *abhorring Monarchy*; as to Religion, being *averſe* even to an *ordinary Miniſtry*. Theſe, after having lent their utmoſt Aſſiſtance to the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Presbyterians to ruin Epiſcopacy, as being ſo much in their way towards the *Deſtruction* of the *Monarchy*, which was the Point they drove at, perceived at laſt they ſhould not be able to gain it by means of their old Allies; for that it was not the Intention of the *Scotch* or *Engliſh* Presbyterians, Laity or Clergy, to proceed *ſo far*; which made it expedient for them to take the firſt good Opportunity of ſetting up for themſelves, and to undermine them as a Rival Power; not openly,

openly, for fear of being oppreſſed before they had well laid their Meaſures; but ſecretly, and by Artifice. To that purpoſe, "the Leaders of this Party began (*in the "Art and Dialect of modern Patriotiſm*) to "make themſelves very popular, and ex-"preſs a great Zeal for the Publick, in "order to gain the good Will of the Peo-"ple. They had their Emiſſaries every-"where, who diligently aggravated the "Faults committed, or *ſuppoſed* to be "committed, ſince the *Beginning of the "War*, as well in the *Adminiſtration of the "Government*, as in the *military Operati-"ons*; and inſinuated, they were entirely "to be aſcribed to the private Views of "*ſelfiſh Members* of Parliament, who poſ-"ſeſſing all the *Places* and *Offices* were "unmindful of the *Intereſt of their Coun-"try*." * All this, as preparatory to *a Place-Bill*, the ſelf-denying Ordinance, to which *Cromwel* leading the way, *Zouch Tate* made the Motion, and was ſeconded by Sir *Henry Vane*; the *Succeſs* whereof was, as has been related; the *Event* we ſhall ſee preſently. One would have ſuppoſed, by this Account, the Republicans to have been the Majority in *this Caſe*. But we are † told the contrary; that Hy-

 pocriſy

* Rapin. † Rapin.

pocriſy and Diſſimulation having been too much a reigning Vice in ſome of *thoſe firſt Patriots*, they had pretended Diſintereſtedneſs to ſuch an *incredible* Degree, that being preſſed upon that Point, rather than pull off the Maſk, they ſuffered themſelves to be drove into the Snare.

And thus the Independants or Republicans became poſſeſſed of the Army; which tho' it was modelled by Lord *Fairfax* the General, ſuppoſed to be of a better Principle; *Cromwel* had ſuch an Aſcendant over him, that he made him do whatever he pleaſed; conſequently thoſe, whom *he* and *his Party* conſidered as Enemies, were caſhier'd. As CROMWEL and *his* PARTY could not poſſibly execute their Deſigns, but by compaſſing the *King's Deſtruction*, all Riſks were to be run by them to effect that; in courſe, the War muſt be carried on with uncommon Vigour; and was ſo, in which they had the joint Aſſiſtance of the Presbyterians; for tho' the two Parties had different Views, as it ſuited *both their Intereſts* to diſable the King, the *Coalition* held till they got him under their Power; THEN —— (as ALL Diviſions after a while, eſpecially after *certain Points* gained by *them*, are, for ſome Reaſon or another, attended with Subdiviſions)

viſions) *they*, who before had ſeem'd united, began to ſeparate openly; each plainly perceiving this was the critical Time to make the Advantages gained, *in common*, turn to *their own particular Benefit.*

The Presbyterians were ſuperior in the Parliament: But the Independants or Republicans were, in effect, Maſters of the Army; and by that their Party was grown very conſiderable; it was therefore the Intereſt of the former to have the Army diſbanded.—— But the Commanders being chiefly of the latter Party, they begged their Pardons for that. Mr. *Whitlock*, with his uſual Wiſdom, had, in a manner, foretold this as a natural Conſequence of the ſelf-denying Ordinance, in one Part of his Speech againſt it: "One Argument "is (ſays he) that the Members of Parlia-"ment, who are Officers, being of equal "Power in Parliament, will not be ſo "obedient to your Commands, as others, "who have ſmaller Intereſts, and would "not ſo much diſpute one with another.

"Surely, Sir, thoſe, whoſe Intereſt is "the ſame with yours, have the more "Reaſon to obey your Commands than "others, and have more to hazard by Diſ-"obedience than others can have; and in

" your Commands all your Members are " involved; and it were ſtrange, if they " ſhould be backward to obey their own " Orders."

Cromwel, who had great *Craft* and equal *Diſſimulation*, cajoled the *General Fairfax*, by pretending to be of his Principle, and amuſed the Parliament for a while; at the ſame Time, that by other Hands, he found Means to inſpire the Army, both Officers and Soldiers, with Diſcontent againſt the Time of their going to be disbanded. The Army ſhewing their mutinous Diſpoſition by Petitions; the Parliament anſwered with Declarations; and beginning to diſapprove the very Practice of petitioning, had juſtly retorted upon them their own Declaration in *November* 1642, in Favour of *ſuch Petitions*. To make ſhort the Story; the Parliament perſiſting in their Reſolution to disband the Army; and the Army, intending nothing leſs, ſigned a ſolemn Engagement to ſtand by one another, and not ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded, but upon ſuch Terms, as they, both Officers and common Soldiers (by their Repreſentatives choſe out of each Regiment) ſhould agree upon. It is eaſy to perceive, this being the Caſe, that their Terms

would not be very reaſonable, (eſpecially now as they conſiſted, not ſo much of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, as before the ſelf-denying Ordinance) and that, in the End, they muſt prevail. Accordingly, upon their approaching *London*, the Parliament and City reſigned all Power into their Hands; and here commenced a *real Stratocracy*.

The Nation was now in very deplorable Circumſtances; Things being changed from very bad to much worſe. As what followed; the Murther of the King, the Diſſolution of the Monarchy, the voting the *Houſe of Lords* uſeleſs and dangerous; in a word, the entire Subverſion of our Conſtitution, with all the Deſolation and Deſtruction thereby occaſion'd, is to be laid at the Door of the Army new modelled, and thereby become chiefly Independant or *Republican*; which is to be aſcribed to the ſelf-denying Ordinance, which was ſupported by a *Petition of Londoners*. As a great Party of them fell in with the firſt Cry of, No Biſhops! As in my Lord *Strafford*'s Caſe, they offer'd the firſt Violence to that eſſential Part of our Liberties and Conſtitution, the Freedom and Privilege of Parliament. As, after all Grievances both publick and private were redreſſed,

ſed, the *Remonſtrance* could not be judged otherwiſe than needleſs, except for the ſake of quarreling with the King, and that for the ſake of altering the Conſtitution. As a ſtrong Party of *Londoners* were deeply concerned in that *Remonſtrance*, and the *Petition* attending it; although many even of *that Party* might be very honeſt Men in their private Capacities, undeſtanding well the Buſineſs they were bred to; only governed, impoſed upon indeed, and greatly abuſed in *publick Affairs*, by one *Cornelius Burgeſs* and *Company*, who were under Direction, led by the Noſe by Mr. *Pym*, and ſome other intriguing, leading Members of Parliament; no vaſt Compliments are due to the Memory of thoſe Citizens, conſider'd as *Politicians*; and if any body has ſaid that their *ſeditious Temper* was a principal Cauſe of the *civil War* in this Reign; altho' it may be thought an odious *, a harſh Reflection, I cannot ſay with the ſame Writer, *it is a falſe one.* Were they Enemies to arbitrary Power? It was very unfortunate, that chiefly by their Means the People were drawn into real Servitude; it being allowed, on all hands, that *England* never enjoyed leſs Freedom, than under the Government

* Livery-Man, *&c.*

vernment of the long Parliament and afterwards of *Oliver Cromwel.* Were they eager for the Redreſs of Grievances? Thro' their Eagerneſs their very Petitions became ſuch.—— But, it is ſaid,* they expreſſed a Diſlike of thoſe Proceedings, which manifeſted a Deſign of changing the Conſtitution. *Monſtrous Aſſurance this!* when, at the Time we are ſpeaking of, that was the very Thing in queſtion between the King and Parliament, or Part of a Parliament; the Ground of that War againſt him, which a Party, that then unhapily over-ruled all the City, ſo eagerly promoted, and ſo ſtrongly aided.

The nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King, *June* the 2d, 1642. puts that beyond all Diſpute. The King underſtood it: No one better, as appears by his Anſwer; wherein he foretold the Conſequences of their *Republican Schemes* (for that was gained by *Force*, which could not be extorted from him by Treaty) juſt as they came to paſs. " That Changes in " the Church would follow thoſe in the " State. That the ſecond Eſtate (the " *Houſe of Lords*) would, in all Probability,

* Liveryman, &c.

" lity, follow that of the firſt (*the regal* " *Power*) till all Power being veſted in " the *Commons*; and thence retruſted ne- " ceſſarily to a *few of them* (*a Committee* " *of Safety*) the common People (whom " in the mean time, (*that is, to compaſs* " *theſe Changes*) they muſt flatter and in- " dulge in all licentious and wild Hu- " mours, how contrary ſoever to the eſta- " bliſhed Law or their own real Good) " would diſcover this Secret. That all " was done *by them*, not *for them*, and " would grow weary of Journey-Work, " and ſet up for themſelves; call Parity " and Independance Liberty; devour that " Eſtate which had devoured the reſt; " deſtroy all Rights and Properties, all " Diſtinctions of Families and Merit; and " by that Means, the antient and excel- " lently diſtinguiſhed Form of Govern- " ment, would end in a dark Chaos or " Confuſion, and a long Line of Kings, " not in a *free State* or *Commonwealth*, " but a vile Tyrant and Uſurper." For which Reaſons, our Anſwer is, (*ſaid the King*) and it is a good Anſwer to all Schemes tending to alter the Frame of our preſent happy well-mixed Conſtitution, or Form of Government) *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*!

The

The Parliament, and their Abetters, either did not, or would not ſee things in the ſame Light as the King did, although the Event, which ſhewed he was not miſtaken, ſufficiently convinced ſome of them who lived to ſee and to feel it. Indeed the City of *London*, *i. e.* a predominant Party there, however right it was in them to promote a Redreſs of Grievances, and protect the five Members, acted nevertheleſs ſome Parts, about that Time, very far from being defenſible.

In *Auguſt* 1643, the Houſe of Lords propoſing to ſend Offers of Peace to the King, and having reſolved upon the Propoſitions, had a Conference with the Commons, who concurred.— *"But the "next Day the *Lord-Mayor* of *London*, "attended with a Crowd of People, came "to the *Houſe of Commons*, of which he "was a Member, and delivered from the "*Common-Council* a Petition, wherein the "Houſe was intreated to reject the Pro-"poſitions of the *Lords* for Peace. And "upon this Petition, and the Lord-May-"or's Aſſurances of a Party in the City to "ſupport them, a Majority determin'd to "reverſe the Reſolution of the foregoing "Day, which was *for Peace*."

* Rapin.

Now to ſhew, how the Senſe of other wiſe Perſons, beſides the *Lords*, differed from that of the *Lord-Mayor* and *Common-Council*, in that very Affair, at that very Time, here is Mr. *Whitlock*'s Speech, as I take it, the Day before, when the Matter was debated in the Houſe of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

" It would be no wonder, to ſee an " unanimous Concurrence of the whole " Houſe in furthering Propoſitions for a " good Peace. The Calamities of our " Diſtractions have brought us to it; and " who is there amongſt us hath not felt " the Strokes of them. The Land is " weary of our Diſcords, being thereby " polluted with Blood. Which ever way " Succeſs inclines, the poor *Engliſh* are " ſtill Sufferers. Whoſe Goods, I pray, " Sir, are plunder'd? Whoſe Houſes are " burnt? Whoſe Limbs are cut or ſhot " off? Whoſe Perſons are thrown into " loathſome Dungeons? Whoſe Blood " ſtains the Walls of our Towns, and de- " files our Land? Is it not all *Engliſh*? " And is it not then time for us, who are " all *Engliſhmen*, to be weary of theſe Diſ-

" cords,

" cords, and to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours
" to put an end to them? I know, Sir,
" you are all here of the ſame Opinion
" with me in this Point; and that it was
" an unhappy Miſtake in thoſe, who told
" us in the Beginning of our Warfare,
" That it would be only to ſhew ourſelves
" in the Field with a few Forces, and
" then all would be preſently ended. We
" have found it otherwiſe. Let us now
" again ſeek to recover thoſe Bleſſings of
" Peace, than which nothing is more
" pleaſing to be deſired, and more profi-
" table to be enjoyed. If the Lords will
" not come into our Meaſures [*about treat-
" ing*] let us go into theirs. Let us con-
" ſent to any thing that is juſt, reaſonable
" and honourable, rather than, in the
" leaſt, to neglect to ſeek Peace, and en-
" ſue it."

The Character of this Gentleman conſidered, with the Matter of his Speech, I am not aſhamed to oppoſe his Senſe ſingly to that which ſeemed to be the Senſe of the *Lord-Mayor* and *Common-Council* of *London*. But laying all other Circumſtances together, they were moſt palpably in the Wrong. And here again, in Support of what I have all along ſuppoſed, *viz. Parties*, with different Opinions, in

the *City* of *London*; I am to obſerve, that, tho' the Violence of Times, and the Rigor of the prevailing Faction in Parliament, againſt all Oppoſers whatſoever (whom they termed and treated as Malignants, that is, in a moſt ſevere and arbitrary manner) was too great a Diſcouragement to the cautious Part of well diſpoſed Citizens to hazard their Perſons and Fortunes, yet they ſuffered their Wives to the Number of 5000 to attend the Houſe with a Petition, the Reverſe of that from the *Common-Council*, viz. *for Peace*.

And thus we have ſeen, that Appearances *there* depended pretty much, in *thoſe Days*, upon the Diſpoſition of the *chief Magiſtrate*; that in, and of, this great City, there *then* was, as there *now* is, and *ever* will be, Men of all *Sects* and *Parties*; in which if *one* does but get the Aſcendant, ſo far as to make an eaſy Majority in their popular Aſſemblies; that which is oppoſite muſt ſubſide in Courſe, as being no more to be heard and regarded, than was good *Archbiſhop Cranmer* and other *Proteſtant Confeſſors*, in their Diſputations by Queen *Mary*'s Appointment: They are ſelf-applauded, which, with too many inconſiderate Perſons, paſſes readily for the *general Senſe of the* Londoners, conſequent-

ſequently, next to infallible. But, ſurely, it is needleſs to ſpend time to prove the Fallibility of *Parties* there, as in other Places, unleſs it ſhall be granted that Contraries may be true. Even within the Times, of which we have been ſpeaking; beſides what has been already mentioned, we meet with Petitions from *Londoners* very various and contradictory; ſometimes in one Strain, ſometimes in another. When the Parliament and Army quarrelled, ſometimes making court to one; ſometimes to the other: Nay, to and from the ſame, in all outward Appearance, Petitions, Counter-Petitions, Petitions craving Pardon for the Error of former Petitions; Petitions cenſured, avowed: Petitioners thanked, called in and reprimanded: Petitions diſapproved, laid aſide, and one Petition burnt. If we deſcend to later Times, we ſhall ſee them the ſame variable uncertain Pilots: To inſtance only in one ſhort memorable Period of about 12 Months. In *October* 1687. The Lord-Mayor, *&c.* expreſſed a "*deep Senſe* of "King *James*'s *Condeſcenſion* and *Goodneſs* "in diſpenſing with the Laws;" which, every Body knew, was intended to facilitate the *immediate Introduction of* POPERY. A few Months after, we hear of their inviting the *Prince* of *Orange* to

reſcue

reſcue them from the *Danger of it*. Twenty-eight Days before his landing at *Torbay*, *they* aſſure King *James* of their "Fidelity "to him, at the *utmoſt Hazard* of their "*Lives* and *Fortunes*." Though (*to do them Juſtice*) no ſooner was his *Highneſs* ſafe at St. *James*'s, but they congratulated his Arrival there.* So that if any peculiar Streſs is to be laid upon the *Authority* of *Londoners*, it will be no leſs difficult where to fix *ſuch* Authority, as a Point we may ſubſcribe to, than that of the pretended Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*.

Indeed it is a moſt fallacious Way of arguing about publick Meaſures, from the Senſe of thoſe, who are apt to differ from themſelves, and one another. Admit *Londoners* to have ſuperior Skill in Trade; that they beſt know how to buy and ſell, and *get Gain*; that by their Situation and Dealings, their Experience in many things is great, which makes ſome of them competent Perſons to ſpeak of *Facts*. Yet does it not therefore follow, that in Matters of *Reaſon* and *Policy*, in the great and arduous Affairs of State, ſuch as *War*, *Peace*, *Treaties*, *&c.* their Judgment, that is, the Judgment of any mixed Number of

* Hiſt. of Addreſſes, *Lond.* 1709. p. 142, 186, 187.

of Perſons, ſuch as conſtitute their great Aſſemblies, is ſufficient to determine a *Legiſlator* (who is or ſhould be a Man of Leiſure and Learning *(thoſe of the Ancients were all ſuch)* againſt his own Reaſon, and the Reaſon of thoſe much better Judges, which, in the Courſe of Debates, he muſt needs hear, and by which he ſhould be finally determined. Which ſhews that there is not a more abſurd, as well as anti-conſtitutional Practice, than that of *preſuming* to inſtruct *Members* authoritatively, either by a ſelect Body, even a *Grand Jury*, for Inſtance, or by a Multitude of Hands. A Number of Objections lie againſt both; and this is none of the leaſt, that *it proves nothing*; but is capable of being managed to ſerve *any Purpoſe*. Witneſs again the Addreſſes of King *James*'s Reign from almoſt all Parts of the Kingdom, and from which can be inferred only *Want of Judgment* in the People, if they were real; Want of *Honeſty* in *ſome other Perſons*, if not ſo. Mr. *Whitlock* makes this Reflection, at a certain Juncture, upon the original Practice of petitioning, from whence this Copy of *inſtructing* is taken. "This Way "of petitioning by a Multitude of Hands, "which was formerly promoted by ſome "of both Houſes, as a Means to carry on "their Deſigns at that time, began now

"to

" to be made uſe of, and returned upon
" them, to their great Trouble and Dan-
" ger; wherein we may obſerve the Ju-
" ſtice of God in puniſhing ſometimes
" *undue* and *indirect* Means, by the very
" ſame Means, afterwards brought about
" againſt the Uſers of them."

I forbear any farther Compariſons between the Policies, *&c.* of *thoſe* Times and *theſe*, which the little Sketch of Hiſtory I have here given, has, to a common Obſervation, in many Inſtances, made to my Hands. Only we have the Happineſs to obſerve this Difference; that, as we have had none of the Provocation on the Part of the CROWN, ſo what prevailed *formerly* to the abſolute Ruin of the Kingdom, has only been imitated and aimed at *of late*; that the Style, *&c.* of the Majority and reigning Intereſt *then*, is only that of the *Oppoſition*, and *ſome* of the Minority *now*; many of whom, I doubt not, deteſt the Thoughts of any ſuch Conſequences, as attended the *Diviſions* and *Reforms* of thoſe Days: and ſo, it is certain, did Mr. *Pym*, and many others. But alas! they kindled a Fire they could not quench: they thought themſelves, and were eſteemed very wiſe, and appeared to have vaſt Influence in *Parliament*; but they were outwitted

outwitted and overpower'd *(when things were ripe for it)* by Perſons they did not ſuſpect of a *Deſign*, or ſo much as a *Capacity* to ſupplant them.

Rapin's Method of accounting for the ſeveral ſad Occurences of which we have been ſpeaking, upon the Foot of PARTIES, makes his Hiſtory of them, not only, more entertaining than otherwiſe it would be, but *inſtructive*; which is the great Uſe of all Hiſtory. As he ſeems to think the Republican Opinions had their Riſe in *England*, from an Averſion to the arbitrary Maxims of *James* the 1ſt, and of the former Part of his Son's Reign: So, upon that Suppoſition, beſides that ill Weeds are not eaſily eradicated, thoſe of *Charles* and *James* the 2d were not proper to extinguiſh them. Accordingly, tho' there is no Doubt to be made of *ſuch* having concurred heartily in the *Revolution*, for many Reaſons; yet we find them early in King *William*'s Reign recurring to their *own Principles*, and thereby diſtreſſing his Adminiſtration, at very improper Junctures; and the more ſo, in that they were always ſure of being joined, *on thoſe Occaſions*, by the *Jacobites*. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, that when the Ducheſs of *Hanover* and her Iſſue were firſt propoſed

to be put next in Succeſſion to Queen *Anne* and her Iſſue, ALL the Republican Party oppoſed it. He ſays,* "*their ſecret* "*Reaſon ſeemed to be a Deſign to extinguiſh* "MONARCHY, *and therefore to ſubſti-* "*tute none, beyond the three that were na-* "*med, that ſo the Succeſſion might quickly* "*come to an End.*" And tho', in the Decline of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, when the Pretender and Popery, *&c.* began to ſtare us in the Face, they made no Scruple of adhering to the *Proteſtant Intereſt* for their own Sakes; yet did they not ſo entirely relinquiſh their favourite Notions, as not upon the firſt Diſobligation, at leaſt, to reſume them. There are ſome, who are free to ſay, (and tell us, they have good Authority for it) that a Patriot,† ſome Time ſince deceaſed, one of the firſt and the chief of *the Oppoſition*, had actually an "*extraordinary Scheme of* "*this Sort in his Head; tho' no Head in* "*the Party was found capable to take it up,* "*or bring it to Perfection when he was* "*gone.*"‡

So that we may very well conceive the Parties in *Great Britain*, to be, at this Time,

* *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. 2. p. 16.

† D——l P——y.

‡ Hiſtorical View, *&c.* 1740.

Time, principally *Three*; of which JACOBITES and REPUBLICANS, notwithſtanding *preſent Coalitions*, are to be accounted *two* diſtinct ones; the *other* conſiſting of Perſons well affected in the main, tho' ſome are diſcontented for Reaſons which will ſubſiſt everlaſtingly; it being *always* neceſſary for *ſome* to have the Preeminence. As this is a conſtant inexhauſtible Fund of Diſguſt; ſo that Diſguſt as readily ſupplies Pretences of Complaint againſt *any Adminiſtration whatſoever*. We know from Hiſtory, as well as Reaſon and *preſent Experience*, that *Parties diſcontented*, however oppoſite in themſelves, and odious to one another, will combine againſt the Power in being; and, which is more, they will be ſure to put on that Appearance, which, for the preſent, is leaſt exceptionable, and moſt likely to accompliſh the Downfal of that particular Power or Intereſt; without doing which, in the firſt place, they cannot make the leaſt Advances towards the Accompliſhment of their *chief Deſign*. And as many little Streams uniting form at length one great River, this well accounts for big Appearances againſt a Miniſtry of ſo long ſtanding as the *preſent* is; which yet if any make (as I know ſome would have it to be) an Argument for changing

Hands, without a more ſubſtantial Cauſe, Hiſtory, in the Example of Queen ELIZABETH, who did not, and of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE, who did, is *full againſt them.*

Now becauſe *ſome*, for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, (and becauſe all JACOBITES to a Man, as well *others* as *Papiſts*, do Credit to the Oppoſition by their Numbers, and Service by their conſtant certain Zeal) take upon them to deny even the Exiſtence of ſuch a Party in the Kingdom at this time, I would deſire *them* to remember the intended Invaſion in 1708, in favour of the *Pretender*, when the ſame thing had been induſtriouſly given out *(to lull the Queen and State into Supineneſs and Security;)* altho' it afterwards appeared, that *he* depended chiefly upon his Adherents in *England* and *Scotland*, whom he had Reaſon to think very numerous. 'Tis true, he was providentially defeated.——But Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "*The Queen was much alarmed with this* "*Matter; and was very ſenſible with what* "*Falſhood ſhe had been abuſed, by thoſe who* "*had pretended to aſſure her, there was not* "*then a* Jacobite *in the Kingdom.*" * And I ſhould

* Burnet, Vol. II. p. 502.

I ſhould be glad to learn when it was, that *ſuch* as were in the Intereſt of the Pretender at that time, and have, ſeveral times ſince, been juſtly accuſed of thoſe Principles, as well as ſome Overt-Acts too, gave any Proof, *as a Party*, or indeed any Sign of having renounced them.

With regard to *thoſe* then of the Oppoſition, who are *Jacobites*, and, being *Proteſtants*, intend, under all Events, to continue in *that Faith*; as Conſideration certainly is not their Talent, it is in vain to argue with *them*; they plainly, either, cannot ſee, or don't regard *Conſequences* in the leaſt. But, as for ſome others, who ſeem rather too intent upon *them*, your timorous Politicians, who are always harping upon the worſt that can happen from the *Prerogative* of the CROWN, never ſufficiently ſecured from arbitrary Power, *&c.* as well as thoſe, who being tinctured more deeply ſtill with Republican Principles, are mere Viſionaries in Politicks, and, under the Name of *Liberty*, conſtantly promoting, as much as in them lies, *Confuſion*: I would wiſh them *both* to recollect; the *former*, how much Gentlemen of their Complexion were duped, and how ſoon brought to Repentance in the Time of *Charles* the 1ſt; the *latter*, how they had

no

no ſooner effectually ſuperceded the antient Conſtitution, and erected themſelves, at a *vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure*, into what they called a *free Commonwealth*; but the very Man (*Oliver Cromwel*) who had a chief Hand in promoting the *Remonſtrance*; in *modelling the Army*; in deſigning and paſſing the PLACE-BILL or ſelf-denying Ordinance; in *over-awing* the Parliament by the Soldiery; in the *King*'s *Murther*; in aboliſhing the *Kingly Office*, and the *Houſe of Lords*; in turning out the *Commons forcibly*; in erecting this *Commonwealth* and reducing the *three Kingdoms* to its Obedience, (as if he had intended from the Beginning to tantalize all Parties in their Turns, and ſerve himſelf only at laſt) faced about againſt his *Maſters*, and aſſumed the *ſupreme* or rather *ſole Power* into his own Hands. Immediately, upon which, the *City of London* invited the USURPER to a ſplendid Entertainment, where the Solemnity of his Reception, was ſuch as had been, at any Time, performed to the KING. It was after this, that a REPUBLICAN caſt down and *ſhocked* with Diſappointment, awaked from his *Political Slumber*, and (as *Dives* looked up in *Hell*, and ſaw *Abraham afar off*) directing himſelf to his *Sovereign* in Exile, made an

Offer

Offer of his Duty, in a penitential Letter: Beginning thus:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" Time, the great Diſcoverer of all " things, has at laſt unmaſked the diſgui- " ſed Deſigns of this myſterious Age, and " made that obvious to the dull Senſe of " Fools, which was before viſible enough " to the quick-ſighted Prudence of wiſe " Men, *viz.* That *Liberty*, *&c.* the En- " gines of Politicians, are but deceitful " Baits, by which the eaſily deluded Mul- " titude are tempted to a greedy Purſuit " of their *own Ruin.* In the unhappy " Number of *theſe Fools*, I muſt confeſs " myſelf to have been *one.*" *

* Clarendon, Echard.

FINIS.

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